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uninhabited hill country. Communications by pack horse road are slow and rough, and as the transport of goods by this means becomes expensive for any considerable distance, each valley lives as far as possible off its own produce. In sharp contrast to this economic "autarky" the whole country is politically unified, being a province of the Chinese Republic and entirely subject to the authority of the provincial government in Yunnanfu (K'un Ming). The province is sub-divided into *hsien*, or Districts, somewhat smaller than an English county, and the area occupied by the Min Chia can be defined politically as the eight Districts of Ta Li, Feng Yi (Chao chou), Teng Ch'uan, Erh Yuan, Chien Ch'uan, Ho Ch'ing, Lan P'ing and Yun Lung. The area east of the lake falls partly within the jurisdiction of Pin Ch'uan, which is not mainly a Min Chia district, and similarly the districts of Lan P'ing and Yun Lung to the west contain areas not inhabited by Min Chia. The political boundaries do not follow racial limits, being based on geographical features.

It is more than six centuries since the conquest of the kingdom of Nan Chao by Kubla Khan, Emperor of the Yuan or Mongol dynasty, brought western Yunnan into the Chinese Empire, where it has since remained in spite of the changes of dynasty which followed. To what extent the kingdom of Nan Chao, which had its capital at Ta Li, can be described as a Min Chia kingdom will be discussed in a later chapter; here all that need be said is that it is certain that the inhabitants of the Ta Li plain, the Min Chia, were not barbarians at the time of the Chinese conquest, and this fact differentiates them from most of the other tribes of Yunnan. The Min Chia are rice farmers, occupying for choice the best rice lands available, only rarely dwelling on the mountains, and unskilled in the types of husbandry appropriate for mountaineers. Almost all the other non-

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## THE TOWER OF FIVE GLORIES

175 563 Chinese tribes on the high plateau of Yunnan are found in the hills, while the valleys and plateaux are in the hands of Chinese settlers or absorbed peoples now Chinese in language and custom.[1] It is safe to assume that when the Mongol emperors and their successors, the Chinese Mings, conquered Nan Chao they found the rice lands of the Ta Li plain already fully exploited by an industrious and skilled race of farmers, whom it was more profitable to tax than to expropriate.

101 563 They therefore called them the "Min Chia", the "plebeians", the "common people", a term less of contempt than to distinguish the indigenous population with its strange language from the Chinese officials, soldiers and merchants who settled in Ta Li city, and before long intermarried with the people of the soil. The name Min Chia is thus Chinese, and not that used by the people themselves when speaking their own language. They call themselves, according to district, by several names generically related. Those of the Ta Li plain use mostly the term "Shua Bër Ni" meaning "speakers of the white (language)",[2] elsewhere Bër Dser, "White People", or in the western district of

[1] The exceptions to this rule are the Na Khi or Mo So of the Li Chiang district, and the Shans of the Burma border region. In the first case, the Li Chiang area on the northern border of Yunnan is the most remote of the lake plateaux from Chinese influence. It was also the seat of a powerful local kingdom, and it seems probable therefore that Chinese rule there was not strong enough to oust a people of fairly high culture. The Shans occupy the low plateaux west of the Salween, a country which the Chinese find very unhealthy and in which they are unwilling to settle. It is noteworthy that where the plateaux are higher, as at Teng Yueh, once a Shan state, the Chinese have taken possession.

[2] In Min Chia "white" *Ber*, does not have the meaning "plain" "intelligible" that the Chinese *Pai* carries. Therefore *Shua Ber Ni* does not mean "plain speakers" as opposed to unintelligible speech, as the Chinese *Pai Hua*, literally "white language", does mean.

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Yun Lung, "Bër Wa Dser," probably the oldest term, meaning "People of the White King". None of these names refer to the colour of the skin, for the Min Chia, like the Chinese, are unacquainted with the use of "white" as a descriptive term for one of the races of mankind. To them people of all the races of eastern Asia and of Europe are the same in colour, only Indians (and presumably Negroes if they were ever to see one) being described as "black men". This attitude is not incorrect. Among the light skinned mountain peoples of western China it is not the colour of the skin, but the black hair and Mongolian features of the face which differentiate them from Europeans.

The origin of the use of the term "white" in connection with the Min Chia is not known to the people themselves. Some suggest that it is in fact derived from that mysterious ruler, the "White King", concerning whom there are certain legends. The name, like the current Chinese term for the Shans, "Pai I" meaning "white clothes" may have referred to an earlier fashion for dressing in white. The Min Chia do not now do so, but nor for that matter do the Shans either. In common parlance the imprecision of these names does not matter, for it is not so much race as language which is present as the differentiating factor in the minds of the people—does a man "Speak White" i.e. Min Chia, or "Speak Han" i.e. Chinese. The situation is the exact converse of that found, in say, Wales. Whether a man speaks Welsh or not he is "Welsh", if born of stock long resident in Wales. In Ta Li if a man speaks Min Chia, he is Min Chia, if he does not, he is "Chinese"—even though his mother is well known to be Min Chia both by descent and by language.

The fact, so rare and refreshing to-day as to be almost disturbing to the European, is that here the nationality complex does not exist. People of widely sundered racial origin are not only not differentiated on this basis, but are barely

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563 554 829 conscious of this factor as marking them off from their neighbours. Language and education, or the lack of it, are the accepted standards for determining the status of the individual. No political discrimination divides the Chinese settler or official from the natives of the land. If a Min Chia is able to read and write Chinese—as many are—then he is eligible for every post that a Chinese could fill, and this applies also to the less civilised tribes of Yunnan. The "Chinese", so called, resident in Ta Li, apart from a few merchants from Ssu Ch'uan who are recent immigrants, are in fact all partly of Min Chia descent.

The only partial exception to this attitude towards race is found in the case of the Moslem population, a historical curiosity, for this community is descended from the mercenary Central Asiatic soldiery used by the Mongol Emperors in their conquest of Yunnan. The Moslems, still keeping to the essential practices of their religion, form a group apart. They speak no language but Chinese or Min Chia, but they neither intermarry with the non-Moslem population, nor partake of hospitality at a non-Moslem table. Once numerous and powerful, their strength was broken after the failure of the great Moslem rebellion in Yunnan in 1874, when many thousands were slaughtered. To day they form a not unprosperous community mainly engaged in trade and transport, although they also own land and breed stock. For the most part they are "Chinese speakers" although four or five villages of Min Chia speaking Moslems are scattered about on the Ta Li plain. These are certainly of mixed race, the progeny of the original soldier settlers and the women of the country. None the less a physical type persists; aquiline features are quite common among the Moslems of Yunnan.

186 197 The lack of any strong national feeling among the Min Chia has led many travellers to regard them as an absorbed

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193 Both languages use the device which has been called
197 "numerical adjuncts" or "classifiers" unknown to European tongues, but familiar from the pidgin English expression "one piecee" preceding the noun. In Chinese the most part of the nouns use the classifier *i ke* which pidgin English has translated as "one piecee" but certain others exist also. In Min Chia the variety is extreme. More than sixty separate classifiers are in use (there may be many more) and of these only twelve are used for more than one or two nouns, and the greater number are only applied to a single noun. There are about six in which the application can be strictly covered by a rule, for example all animals have the classifier *a der* which follows the noun, not as in Chinese preceding it. *Mer a der*= a horse, *mer sa der* = three horses. *A ni*, the classifier for human beings is applied not only to the word for man, woman, etc, but also to nouns describing vocations, which is not the colloquial Chinese practice, e.g. *biu a ni* = a soldier. Two exceptions to this rule for animals and humans exist. Bandits are given the classifier *a der* thus ranking them with the animals and insects, and spirits and gods have the human *a ni* classifier. Malignant ghosts *ger* are on the other hand given *a der*, like animals, perhaps a distinction having the same origin as the *hun* and *po*, the spiritual and animal souls of men which the ancient Chinese distinguished.

363 That the Min Chia are therefore a distinct people is established, and as will be shown in subsequent chapters, their social and kinship systems show radical differences from the Chinese, while their religion retains many features unknown to China proper. Nor is there much evidence to connect them at all closely with the neighbouring non-Chinese peoples of Yunnan. The Na Khi or Mo So who border on the Min Chia to the north speak a very different language and their religion and social customs are equally distinct. All

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that the two peoples have in common comes either from the similar conditions of their economy or from the common contact with Chinese culture since the conquest.[1] 563

The Li Su tribe, one of the largest, but most scattered in Yunnan, are found to the west and north west of the Min Chia country, whose markets they occasionally frequent. This people, definitely on a lower cultural level than the Min Chia, speak a distinct language, much broken up into dialects, which is in no way closely related to the Min Chia speech.[2] In religion they also differ widely, and being hill-men who rarely cultivate rice, their social and economic systems are quite unlike those of the rice farming Min Chia.

To the south east of the Ta Li plateaux, in the lofty Ting Hsi Ling range a people variously described as Lolos or Tu Li occupy the tract of country dividing the Chinese settled plain of Mi Tu from the Min Chia of the Erh Hai basin. It has been suggested by missionaries who have visited some of their villages, that these people also may be an offshoot of the Li Su, and not Lolos, a name which if used at all, should be applied to the No Su[3] found in north eastern Yunnan. This tribe also has no affinities with the Min Chia.

The possibility cannot be ignored that the Min Chia are related to the Shans, or Tai race, which covers so much of the south west of Asia, from Siam through southern Yunnan and eastern Burma even into Kuei Chou province. The

[1] Rock, Dr. Ancient Nakhi Kingdom of Yunnan.

[2] This was the opinion of the late Mr. Fraser, of the China Inland Mission, who devised the Fraser Script for writing the Li Su language, of which he had the most thorough knowledge. His view was communicated to the author in Ta Li, 1938.

[3] The opinion of Mr. H. Owen, of the China Inland Mission, Ta Li. The term Lo Lo is Ssu-chuanese slang meaning a basket, and is at best a popular west Chinese term for any non-Chinese people, used quite loosely and without precise application. It is only Europeans who have attached this name to the No Su rather than to any other tribe.

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563 costume of the Shan women in western Yunnan is not unlike that of the northern division of the Min Chia dwelling on the plateau of Chien Ch'uan. Both peoples are rice farmers and avoid the wooded mountains which they leave to the Li Su [E7] or other tribes. The Shans to-day practise the custom of betel-nut chewing, which the Min Chia do not, but it is interesting to read that as late as fifty years ago and less, the Min Chia had this habit, which was observed by early English travellers in western Yunnan.[1] Finally Ta Li was the capital of the Nan Chao Kingdom of which the ruling family was certainly Shan, originally the lords of Meng Hua, a city south of the Min Chia country.

103 It has been suggested that the name "Ta Li" in Min Chia *Dai Lai* is of Shan origin, which is not unlikely, seeing that the city was founded by one of the Shan Nan Chao kings.

563 If "The White King", the Min Chia legendary hero, who has none the less a real royal tomb near Ta Li, be identified with one of the Nan Chao kings, then the association of the Min Chia with the Shans is close. But no sense of kinship with the Shans of western Yunnan is now felt by the Min Chia. They are not themselves in contact with any Shan tribe, for the nearest settlements of that people are in the Salween valley fifteen stages west of the Min Chia country. Thus if they are in fact an outlying colony of the Tai race they have lost all sense of community with the parent body, and are now in sentiment more allied to the Chinese.

[1] Across Chryse. A. R. Colquhoun. Vol. II, Sampson Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington, London, 1883.

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441 438 563 The remainder of the inhabitants of Ta Li may be classified as artisans, no doubt landless peasants in origin, and Min Chia by race, and immigrant Chinese merchants. These latter come from Ssu Ch'uan, the eastern provinces, and also from Canton. They are not very numerous, but own all the best shops. The silk trade is in the hands of Cantonese and Kiangsu men, and even the local marbles are mostly sold and worked by Ssu Ch'uanese, although the labour is usually Min Chia, and the quarrying entirely so. The Cantonese operate Mixed Goods shops, but have no monopoly of this business. The Hat and Shoe trades, the largest in the city, are not monopolised by any group, but here too the ubiquitous Ssu Ch'uanese are prominent. Each of these immigrant groups of Chinese maintains a Guild House and they continue to regard themselves as strangers in the city, although many of them have been born there and others spent most of their lives in Yunnan. The distinction between a Yunnanese Chinese and an immigrant is indeed hard to draw, and though clear enough to the individuals concerned cannot easily be reduced to a formula. A family such as the Li, although in origin immigrants from Kiangsu, would now unhesitatingly say they were Yunnanese. But another family, settled in the city for four generations, still call themselves Ssu Ch'uanese. It is true that there is a great difference between an immigration dating back four centuries and one dating only four generations.

441 563 A census of all the shops in Ta Li, and the group to which on average their owners belong, will show how the commerce of the city is distributed, its character, and to what slight degree it is dependent on goods imported from other parts of China and abroad. In this table, while all the shops open in 1938 have been listed, the ethnic group to which the owners belong has been indicated only for the majority, there being some exceptions and overlapping in every kind

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of business. Thus some of the tailors may be Chinese, or of such mixed origin as to be very doubtfully Min Chia, and the distribution of trades among the Chinese is even less fixed. Though not rigidly defined like an Indian caste system there is still a marked separation between the kinds of business done by Chinese and Min Chia on the one hand, and different groups of Chinese on the other.

*Shops in Ta Li City*

| *Shop* | *Number* | *Ethnic Group* |
|---|---|---|
| Barbers | 11 | Ssu Ch'uanese |
| Bedding | 8 | Yunnan Chinese |
| Books and stationery | 5 | Kiangsu and Cantonese |
| Brassmiths | 7 | Min Chia |
| Butchers | 5 | Min Chia |
| Cakes and confectionery | 5 | Min Chia and Yunnanese |
| Carpenters | 5 | Min Chia |
| Charcoal braziers | 1 | Min Chia |
| Coffins | 13 | Min Chia and Yunnanese |
| Crackers, incense and candles | 7 | Ssu Ch'uanese |
| Crockery | 2 | Yunnanese |
| Dentist | 1 | Cantonese |
| Drapers (cloth) | 4 | Min Chia |
| Embroidery | 1 | Min Chia |
| Furriers | 4 | Min Chia |
| Hatters | 39 | All groups |
| Ironmongers | 6 | Min Chia |
| Marbles | 17 | Ssu Ch'uanese and Min Chia |
| Medicine shops | 55 | Cantonese and Yunnanese |

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## THE TOWER OF FIVE GLORIES

| *Shop* | *Number* | *Ethnic Group* |
|---|---|---|
| Mixed imported goods | 31 | Cantonese and Yunnanese |
| Musical instruments | 1 | Ssu Ch'uanese |
| Paper images (for funerals) | 4 | Min Chia |
| Photographer | 1 | Cantonese |
| Picture sellers | 5 | Yunnanese |
| Printers | 6 | Yunnanese |
| Ready made clothes | 11 | Min Chia |
| Restaurants and Tea houses | 64 | Min Chia and Yunnanese Moslems |
| Saddlers | 9 | Min Chia |
| Second hand clothing | 6 | Min Chia |
| Shoe shops | 73 | All groups mostly Ssu Ch'uanese |
| Silk stores (mercers) | 42 | Kiangsu and Cantonese |
| Silversmiths | 18 | Min Chia |
| Tailors | 42 | Min Chia |
| Tinsmiths | 7 | Min Chia |
| Tobacco, straw sandals, etc. | 101 | Min Chia |
| Transport firms | 3 | Moslem Yunnanese |
| Trunk makers | 6 | Min Chia |
| Watchmakers | 3 | Yunnanese |
| Wine and salt shops | 64 | Min Chia |
| Writing brush makers | 4 | Yunnanese |
| | 697 | |

441 The above list is as clearly defined as possible, but in fact many shops do two kinds of business, for example a marble

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## CHAPTER 4

# THE PEOPLE OF THE WHITE PRINCE

In A.D. 1252 Mongol troops under the command of the prince who later reigned as the Emperor Yuan Shih Tsu—better known in Europe as Kublai Khan—captured Ta Li from the last ruler of the Kingdom of Nan Chao. From that time to the present day the Min Chia who inhabit that district have been subjects of the dynasties which successively ruled China. Some remnant of local authority was left to the descendants of the Tuan dynasty of Nan Chao during the Mongol (Yuan) period, but when the Chinese Ming dynasty drove out the Mongols and conquered Yunnan in 1383, even this shadow autonomy disappeared. Under the Ming Emperors and their Manchu successors Ta Li was reduced to the position of a prefecture of Yunnan province, politically on the same footing as any other city of the same rank in the Empire. The Republic abolished the distinction between prefectures, sub-prefectures and district cities (*Fu*, *Chou* and *Hsien*) renaming all as *Hsien* so that the old designation "Ta Li Fu," still found on many European maps, became obsolete, and the name used to-day is simply Ta Li.

The Mongol conquest does not seem to have been followed by any great immigration of Chinese settlers, although it is in this period that the Moslem community, originally mercenary soldiers of the conquerors, became established in the western part of Yunnan. The Ming conquest 130 years later was followed by a great immigration of Chinese, also originally soldiers, who settled in the uninhabited parts of Yunnan and probably in many places displaced unsophisticated tribesmen from the better lands. In the Min Chia country this process was restricted to the settlement of

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several Chinese families in the city itself, for there was no eviction of the Min Chia peasantry on the plain. As Ta Li had been the capital of Nan Chao it is probable that the neighbourhood was then populated by a peasantry who had already cultivated all the good land, and it was found more profitable to tax the existing population than to replace them with Chinese settlers.

Several tombs of Chinese families bearing dates from the early Ming period, the fifteenth century of the Christian Era, still stand on the slopes above Ta Li, attesting the fact of immigration and settlement by Chinese from the provinces of the lower Yang Tze valley, in which region the first Ming capital, Nanking, was established. Some of these families still remain in Ta Li to-day, and most of the old Chinese families of the place claim to have "come from Nanking" a phrase which means that their ancestors were natives of what we now call Kiangsu province. Whatever may have been the relationship between the conquerors and the Min Chia at that remote time, before long the racial distinction ceased to count as a political factor, and to-day there is no such thing as a Min Chia "nationality". The culture of the Min Chia still remains in many ways distinct, but the political fusion has become complete. The Kingdom of Nan Chao was in no sense a Min Chia kingdom, even though the district of the capital was then, as now, inhabited by Min Chia for it covered most of Yunnan and thus included a wide variety of peoples, from Tibetans and Li Su to Wa head hunters, even as the modern province of Yunnan does to-day. Even the dynasty of Nan Chao was more probably Shan than Min Chia, so that the change of rulers can hardly have seemed like a loss of independence to the men of that time.

There is thus at the present time nothing specifically Min Chia about the organisation of the government in Ta Li and the adjoining Hsien. These districts do not even follow the

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ethnographic boundary of the Min Chia people, for al- 634
though the *Hsien* of Ta Li, Erh Yuan, and Chien Ch'uan, are 563
wholly Min Chia, they overlap also into districts north, east
and west of these three, which include communities of
Chinese, Na Khi, Li Su and Tu Li. Nevertheless although 642
the governmental system is identical with that in force in
other parts of Yunnan and in China as a whole, it merits
description for the very reason that, as the cadre in which
Chinese civilisation operates, it is itself the principal cause
of contact between the two cultures. It is well known that
the Chinese Empire has for many centuries been ruled by a
civil service of officials recruited by public examinations,
and this civil service ranked higher and had greater author-
ity than the military officers commanding the rather scanty
garrisons stationed in the walled cities. After the Chinese
revolution the old system fell into confusion, from which it
has recently emerged, modernised, but in many respects
unchanged. The civil officials of to-day are no longer re-
cruited by annual examinations held in Peking or at some
other great city, but they are required to be University
graduates, and in recent years they are also required to pass a
civil service examination, held in the provincial capital.
Their military colleagues, who acquired inordinate power
during the years of confusion following the revolution, are
now slowly being brought under the control of the pro-
vincial government, from which they had largely escaped,
and though endowed with more power than they possessed
under the Manchu Empire, they can no longer override the
civil power whenever they choose.

The *Hsien*, an area rather smaller than an English county, yet 634
of considerable extent, is under the civil rule of the *Hsien
Chang*, or Magistrate, who is responsible for the collection of
taxes and the administration of justice within certain limit-
ations. He is also in charge of the public works, administers

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All the slopes that are below an altitude of 6,000 ft. belong to the arid zone, where cultivation without irrigation is difficult. Most of these slopes are barren or covered by only a thin mantle of scrub. At an altitude between 6,000 and 8,000 ft. is the semi-arid zone, where agriculture could be carried on without irrigation, but the situation is usually precarious. Unfortunately, most of the cultivable lands are situated in this zone. The dominating crops between 6,000 and 7,000 ft. are corn, beans, and wheat; and those grown between 7,000 and 8,000 ft. are mostly barley, oats, buckwheat, and potatoes.

From an altitude between 8,000 to over 9,000 ft. is the wet zone, and this is the forest zone. Above the forest zone is the sub-humid zone, and this is the grass land area where the high degree of wetness and the shortness of the growing season limit agriculture and favor the grazing of cattle. This is also the homeland of a great variety of medicinal herbs.

The limitations of relief and climate have in their turn affected the nature of the soil. Soil on the upper slopes, where agriculture is carried on, is subject to severe erosion; while soil on the valley bottoms is liable to be washed away by streams. Therefore, the most spectacular feature of the soil is that of instability. There is hardly any well-developed mature soil to be found anywhere. In the grasslands, the soil is better developed, but the temperature limits its utilization.

This is only a brief summary of the setting of the stage upon which a group of tribes people are carrying on their drama of life. Now, we will proceed to examine the tribes who are staged there.

## B. THE TRIBES OF LI-FAN COUNTY

The total population of Li-fan county is about 80,000, which is about one-fourth the population of Chengtu. Of course there is no accurate census to tell the truth. This is only a rough estimate from the figures given by the Szechwan Commission of Education. Out of the total population, about one-eighth are Chinese and seven-eighths are tribes people. They are the Ch'iang羌, the Gia-rung 嘉戎, the Fan番, and the Black River peoples. They are all of Tibetan descent, with a combined or fused Tibetan-Chinese culture at different stages of development.

The Ch'iang people used to occupy a much larger area than they do now. Archaeological finds indicate that they had spread as far north as Kansu before the Han dynasty. During the Ming dynasty, because they made trouble, the Tibetans were called in to conquer them, and finally there were cornered into a smaller and smaller area between the Chinese on the plains, and the Tibetans in the mountains. At present the Ch'iang people are on the verge of disappearing, and their culture is already half-forgotten. The Gia-rung people are the Tibetan conquerors who have taken to agriculture, and the Fan are the Tibetans who have come to stay in the grasslands and are still leading a nomadic type of life. The Black River people are a mixed people of Fan, Gia-rung and Ch'iang. They are half agricultural, but still rely on their cattle for much of their living.

# Tribal Distribution of




[End Map A]

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[End Map B]

CHO KE CHI
卓 克 基

川 RIVER

Kong 更 Tsing 清 Mountain 卡 Range 干

Sung-kang 松崗

馬爾康 or Mar-k'ang

Ke-i 格 ma 馬

Tang Pa
党 壩

Che-ke-chi 卓克基

Li-fan and its Environs

O Lo 俄羅

Ah-pa 阿壩

Sung-pan 松潘

Ch'iung 邛

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4: Lin K-4 (no date). AE3 Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3

Mao-kung

Li-hsien

Ma-tien

Li-fan

Mao-hsien

Wei-chow

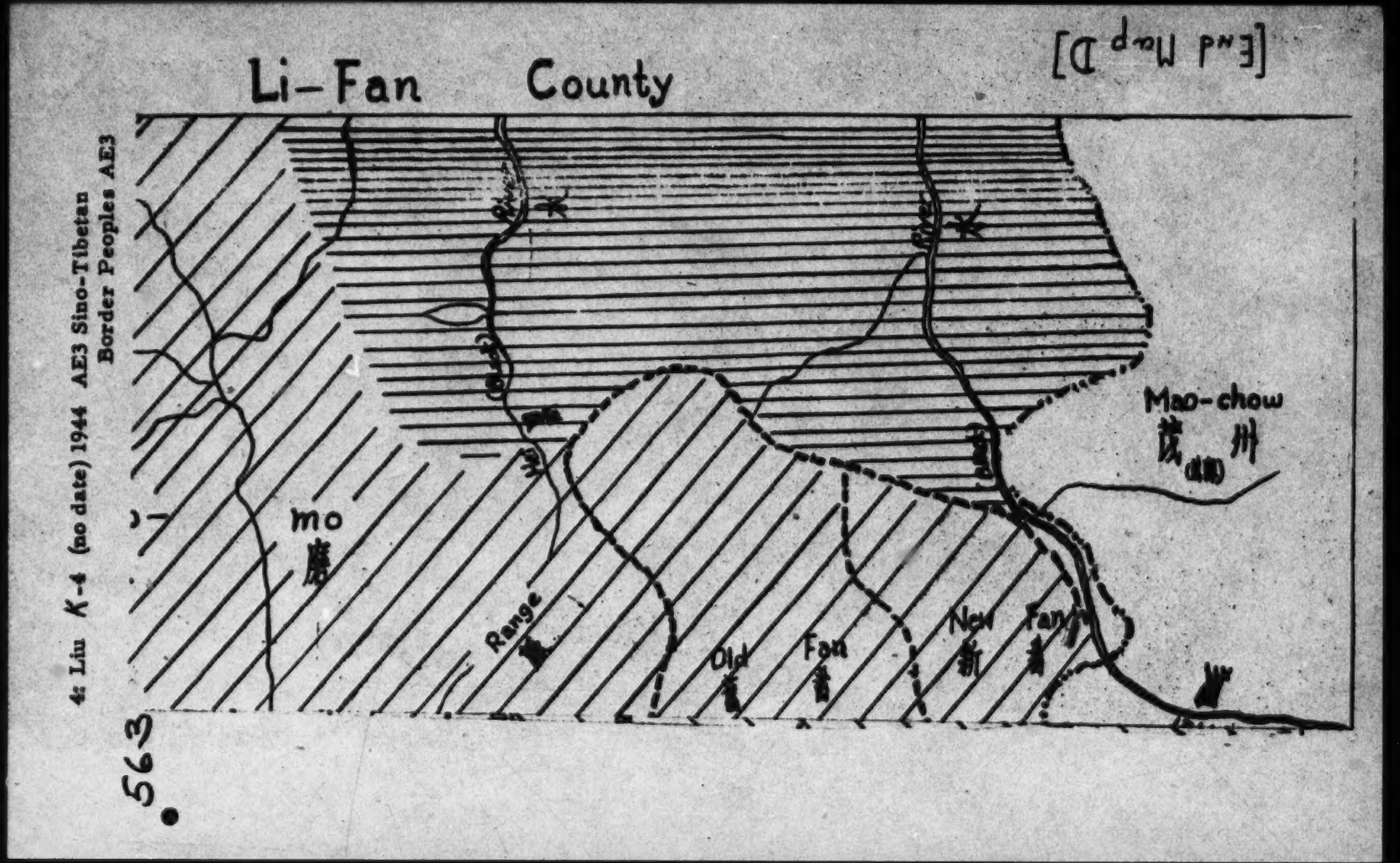
Wen-chuan

Reference

- Fan People
- Gia Rung People
- Ch'iang People
- Gia Rung & Ch'iang
- Po-Lo-tsu
- City
- Town
- River
- La Ma Temple

Lat. & Long of Li-fan City
105°20'9" 31°37'55"

[End Map C]

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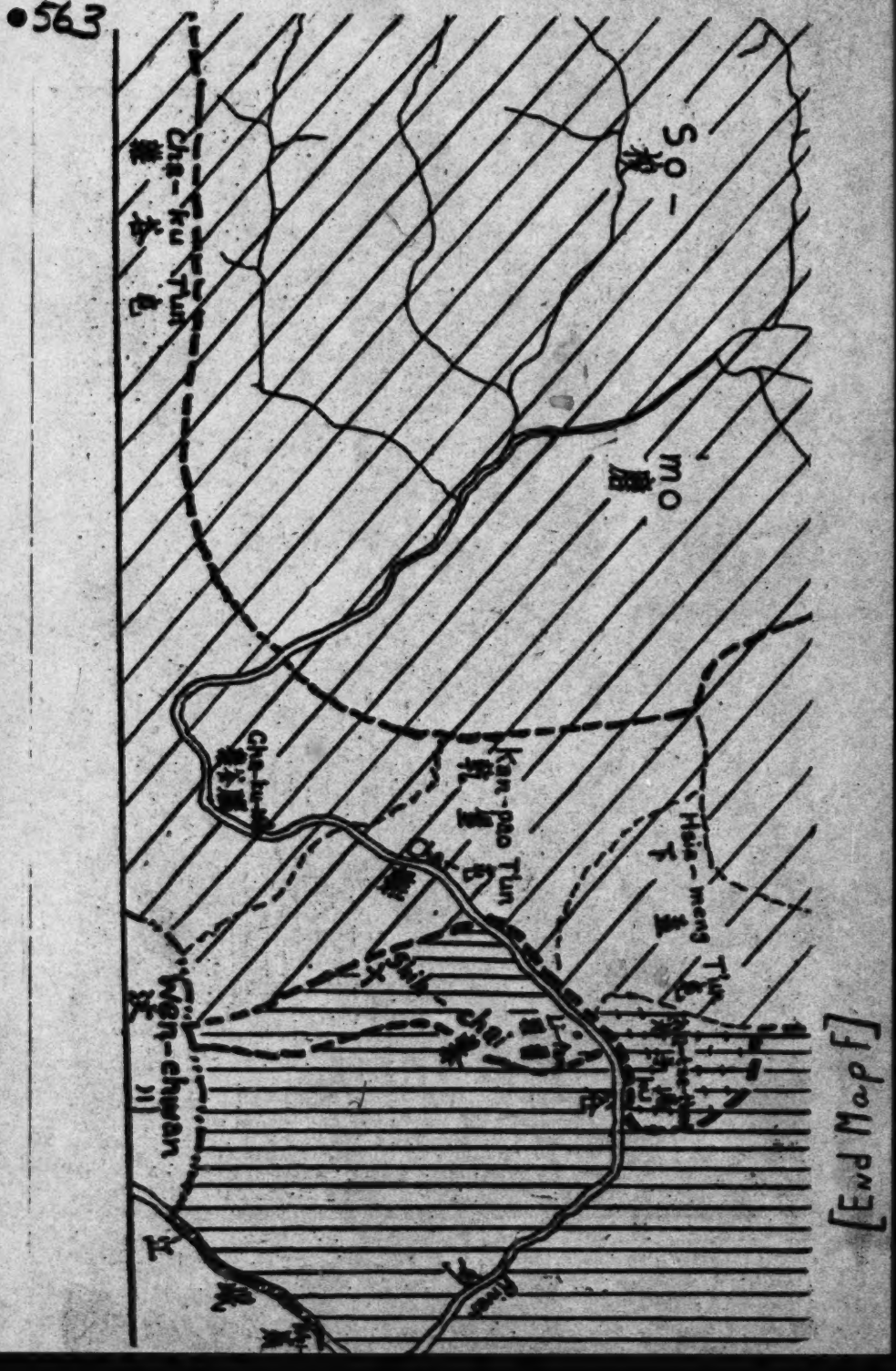

If you travel from Ho-chou up the wide, fertile valley of the Hsia-ho which cuts in between loess plateaus, you soon come to steep wooded mountains that are set off sharply from the loess country. The Hsia-ho breaks through these mountains in a narrow ravine, and leaves them behind at T'u-men-kuan. This is the present boundary between the district of Ho-chou and the recently demarcated district of Hsia-ho, which formerly belonged to the Tibetan province of Amdo. This district boundary, which is at the same time actually the boundary between loess country and rock mountains, has long formed an ethnic division between Chinese and Tibetans. The valley at Tu-men-kuan is closed off by an old wall, which may often have been the chief line of defense of the Chinese against an enemy breaking through from the high mountains. When I traveled through here at the end of August 1936, this barrier was occupied by a Mohammedan posse which aimed at defending it against the Communist army of Mao Tse-tung coming from Szechuan on its march to the north. However, the Communists did not advance toward Kansu through the Hsia-ho Valley, but /6/ proceeded farther east, because they were not equipped for the march through the Tibetan highlands which was to have led them to Sinkiang. They would have found the Mohammedans tough opponents, prepared to resist them with determination, although the weapons of this posse consisted almost entirely of spears decorated with red tassels.

Beyond Tu-men-kuan the Chinese and Mohammedans settle only in the principal valleys, and even there almost exclusively as traders who build small settlements along the caravan roads. They supply passing travelers and caravan drivers with food and shelter, sell all kinds of objects of daily use to the Tibetan country people, and for their part buy up farm products. For the rest, however, the region beyond Tu-men-kuan is settled mainly by Tibetans who have preserved their Tibetan culture relatively intact. A few kilometers up the valley we come upon the first Tibetan chorten and directly after that we pass the first lamasery. Two-days' journey above Tu-men-kuan, near the place where the Hsia-ho, rising in the undulating highland farther south, begins gnawing its way into the mountains, lies Labrang at an altitude of 2,950 meters.

The famous monastery of Labrang is a most important cultural and political center. It was founded in the 18th century during the reign of Ch'ien-lung who was interested in furthering Lamaistic religion. Labrang is now an important monastery city with many magnificent temples and countless courts for the lamas. There are said to be around 3,000 lamas and "living Buddhas" residing here.

craft. The women know how to spin wool, but cannot weave. The only craft with which a woman can earn money is that of hairdresser. Only the men can sew, and they make all the clothing and shoes. They use Chinese cotton thread and crude needles imported from Szechuan. The only men's craft besides tailoring is saddle-making. Often, however, men earn money with their oxen as drivers of pack animals. The tents are made mostly by lamas.

Basketry is not highly developed. The large willow baskets used for gathering yak dung are sometimes made at home, but are generally imported from the neighboring sedentary Fantzu. Shallow baskets are used for storing special provisions, for example, mushrooms, and these are obtained from the Tebu-Fantzu.

The livestock of the nomads constitutes their entire wealth. They have practically no money. In livestock there are great differences between rich and poor. It often happens that a family or an entire tent community suddenly becomes impoverished, if a great many animals starve after a deep snowfall, or if many die of an epidemic. If a family loses all its animals, friends and neighbors help them out. There is very little begging. In the nomad settlements one never sees beggars; a few may be seen around the monasteries where they get a little tsamba on festive occasions or at burials.

Taxation is still very low: $0.50 to $1, according to the size of the family, must be paid annually to the tribal chief. The Chinese police collect it from him twice a year, in the second and eighth month. No monetary tax need be paid to the lamaseries, /36/ but each family must contribute food for the general temple festivals and to those temples where they have relatives among the lamas. Lamas also come to the tent camps very often to collect butter for the lamaseries, and this is always freely given.

Trade is entirely in the hands of Mohammedans and Chinese, chiefly the former. There are quite a number of things that are purchased with money; farther in the interior of the grasslands there is more barter. During the first years of the Republic silver dollars came to be used in place of unminted silver (taels). Smaller units of exchange are the tsuan (?) and copper coins. A tsuan is the equivalent of 49 copper coins; 4 tsuan are 36 cents; 11 1/2 tsuan are 1 silver dollar. In 1936 there was no paper money among the Fantzu, but it will soon replace silver which is being recalled by Chinese officials.

The nomads sell the following to Mohammedans and Chinese: sheep, horses and yaks, sheep guts, horse and yak hides, horse and

The marriage age as a rule is between the 15th and 18th year. 581
There is considerable sexual intercourse before marriage, but a 792
couple marries when a child is born. There are love matches and matches arranged by a third person who even in the case of marriage for love, is sent by the young man to the family of his beloved. If there is only one son, he becomes a lama, if there are two sons, the older one stays at home and the younger becomes a lama; often all the sons except the first-born enter a lamasery. It even happens that all the sons join a lamasery. In that case, or if there is no son, a son-in-law must be adopted. These sons-in-law are as a rule ex-lamas who did not like the life of the lamasery. Thus there is /70/ always a shortage of eligible males, and yet there are no older unmarried women. Polygyny is uncommon, except among very wealthy people. Polyandry which occurs in parts of Tibet is not customary among the Mewu-Fantzu. The sons who become lamas are sent into the lamasery when they are 8 to 10 years old.

Among the Mewu-Fantzu the tent nomads and the sedentary 563 ●
Fantzu intermarry. It is, however, said to be more distinctive for 581
a tent nomad to marry a woman from a resident family. (1) She likes

1. This statement of my interpreter contradicts what Ekvall 4), page 76, says, namely, that the nomads are always more highly esteemed than the sedentary Fantzu.

to go into a tent, provided her husband has means. Conversely a sedentary Fantzu can marry a nomad woman without being discredited. There are also marriagesbetween Chinese and Mohammedans on the one hand and nomads on the other. A Chinese or a Mohammedan may marry a nomad woman, but a man who is a nomad may not marry a Chinese woman because she does not understand the work a nomad woman has to perform. A family of nomads gains in social standing if a Chinese man marries a woman of the family. Hence the nomads do not always demand a marriage fee from the Chinese, at any rate not a large one. Usually the Chinese man is obliged to give only a yak. The Mongols living in the province of Kansu have no contact with the Mewu-Fantzu.

If it is a love match, neither the parents nor other relatives have 583
any influence in the choice of a man. The wedding gift is paid in yaks, and consists of one to five yaks, depending on the wealth of the man's family. If a son-in-law is adopted, the family of the girl must give the family of the man one or two yaks, provided the son does not come from a family living away, in which case nothing

region. Originally the Chinese government played the role of the 648
highest liege lord, since the t'u-szu had to pay taxes to it and lend
assistance in war. The Chinese government installed the t'u-szu
in office, that is to say, it gave the t'u-szu family its domain to a
certain extent as an hereditary feudal possession. The Huang-szu-
ling was installed only 7 or 8 years ago (that is, about 1928) by the
Chinese government. His family, known for its war-like (or rather
marauding) enterprises, comes from the province of Hsik'ang, south
of Kansu. It is characteristic for the intellectual and social attitude
of a feudal society that the highest incarnation of the great Labrang
Lamasery is a brother of the Huang-szu-ling. The independence of the
Huang-szu-ling was very much curtailed by the Chinese government,
especially in the organization of the district of Hsia-ho. The Mewu-
Fantzu henceforth do not have to pay their taxes to the Huang-szu-
ling, but the t'ou-mu and his sub-chiefs transfer the taxes they col-
lect directly to the Chinese district officials.

One of the lamaseries - Mewu-hsin-szu or new Mewu lamasery - 992
in the territory of the Mewu-Fantzu is directly under the adminis- 624
tration of the t'ou-mu. The territory of Mewu-chiu-szu - old Mewu
lamasery - is under the administration of three sub-chiefs. The
territory of Lao-da-ma is under two sub-chiefs, one of whom has a
higher rank than all the rest. Sedentary Fantzu as well as tent nomads
are also under the administration of the sub-chiefs.

The t'ou-mu lives alternately in a regular house situated between 643
He-tso and Mewu-hsin-szu, or in a tent. The latter is not different 624
from the tents of other Fantzu. The t'ou-mu has a representative in
each of the three lamaseries in his area, and he sometimes lives with
them. The office of the t'ou-mu is hereditary from father to eldest
son. If the son is not suited to the position, the /76/ father has the
right to name a son that is more qualified as his successor. If the
t'ou-mu has no sons, his adopted son-in-law becomes his successor.
A definite number of families are under the administration of a
chief and his five sub-chiefs. Each of these families has a right to
five definite pasture areas. There are no marriage restrictions with-
in the group of families governed by a t'ou-mu. The t'ou-mu must
see to it that people from a strange tribe under no circumstances
pasture their animals in the region under his jurisdiction. He has [663]
more than ten officials (Chinese: kuan-shih) who are laymen, and in
addition the above-mentioned representatives in the lamaseries.
They, too, are known as kuan-shih, but are lamas. Their task,
among other things, is to welcome lamasery guests. There are no
particular office-holders apart from the t'ou-mu, his five sub-chiefs

tribe. There /83/ are also fixed rules about the use of pastures during the various seasons (first and second summer pasture and winter pasture). The tent communities do not quarrel about pasture-lands. Violating regulations with regard to pastureland is punished by the t'ou-mu with a fine which must be paid in butter. For every yak that breaks out beyond the boundaries of the pasture its owner must pay two chin of butter.

There seems to be no particular hunting rights, but the t'ou-mu has the authority to forbid hunting under certain circumstances. Thus, for example, during my stay among the Mewu-Fantzu, the shooting of groundhogs was forbidden for definite reasons. In such cases hunting rights are not granted even for money. If a person is caught violating the rules, he is first beaten and then required to pay a fine.

There are no sales transactions involving legal contracts. Stock is sold by the head. The Fantzu are very adroit traders; there are usually no disputes in business deals.

Judicial authority is only theoretically in the hands of the Chinese district administration; in practice it is left to the Fantzu themselves. The Chinese court does not prosecute punishable actions of the Fantzu. Even when a Fantzu has wronged a Chinese, he is not prosecuted directly by a Chinese court, but at the proposal of the district official by the t'ou-mu who, as we have said above, is the superior judge. It is only when very influential Chinese have been robbed that the Chinese authorities send out a military posse. The Chinese for their part do not dare harm the Fantzu, for fear of their revenge. They are glad when the Fantzu leave them alone. Two years ago (1934) Chinese soldiers killed seven or eight Fantzu, whereupon the t'ou-mu immediately sent out his warriors to pursue the Chinese. However, there was no incident because a Mohammedan /84/ officer acted as mediator. A fine of $100 was demanded for each man slain. The incident shows that the Mohammedan played a neutral, respected role between Fantzu and Chinese.

The t'ou-mu can prosecute a crime only if it takes place within the territory of his tribe. If the criminal escapes into another territory, he can pursue him only as far as the border.

The councils of the ts'aowa groups enjoy about the same authority as the t'ou-mu. Their task is a little more arduous since in judicial cases and the pursuit of a criminal, they are appealed to first. The ts'aowa council, however, is required to ask the t'ou-mu for permission to pursue a criminal. As a rule t'ou-mu and ts'aowa work together in such cases.

●563 The Mewu-Fantzu are already to a certain extent dependent on the Chinese, since they live relatively near them. This dependence is, however, still a rather indirect one, and is expressed through the secular Fantzu ruler of Labrang, the "Huang-szu-ling."

221 Wars between Fantzu and Chinese no longer occur, since the
563 Fantzu respect the superior military might of the Chinese. But it
648 often happens that Chinese are robbed by Fantzu. Such cases are, as a rule, brought before the court of the Huang-szu-ling who, according to my interpreter, wherever possible sides with the Fantzu. He arranges the payment of damages. The Fantzu are, however, not too friendly with the Chinese, first of all because they feel oppressed by the taxes which the Chinese government imposes on them, and, secondly, because the Chinese are pushing into their territory as colonists. However, the latter reason affects only the sedentary Fantzu to any practical extent.

563 The Fantzu have a different and closer relationship with the Chinese Mohammedans who play a special part in the political and social life of the country. (1) In language and material culture

1. Ekvall describes in detail the relationship between the Fantzu - nomadic and sedentary - and the Chinese and Mohammedans.

these Mohammedans do not differ from actual Chinese, but the latter regard them /88/ more or less as aliens. They are largely descendants of Turkish tribes, who in the course of time settled in Kansu and intermarried with the Chinese. In external appearance (they are a Turanian race rather than Sinic) (2) as well as in

2. Terms according to von Eickstedt 15).

character, they are often very different from the Chinese. The Mohammedans live in Kansu as farmers, merchants and innkeepers. As traders they have penetrated far into Fantzu territory and constitute the chief element of the population in the market towns which have arisen in the vicinity of the large lamaseries. If Mohammedans are robbed by Fantzu they are much more apt to follow their natural war-like bent and fight than are the Chinese. Thus Fantzu raids are sometimes followed by minor avenging expeditions on the part of the Mohammedans. Eleven years ago (about 1925) there was the last major warlike entanglement between Mohammedans
600 and Fantzu. The relationship of the Mohammedans to the Chinese

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But Chung-tien is essentially a grazing country. Everywhere one sees large herds and flocks of live stock—yaks, cattle, ponies, mules, sheep, and pigs. The breed of ponies is considered a good one, and mules and ponies are taken nearly every year to Bhamo for sale. Rice and sugar are the chief imports, brought in by Chinese traders from Ho-ch'ing Chou. No doubt the district would be very prosperous if it were not ground down by the lamas.

The natives of Chung-tien are of a different race from those of Mi-li. The latter belong to the semi-Tibetan family which it is convenient to call Hsi-fan. I was told that there were two different tribes in the Mi-li state, called K'a-mi and P'rü-mi respectively. The inhabitants of Chung-tien are of the genuine Tibetan race, who call themselves Pê or Pö. This in the written language is "b'ot" and is probably the last syllable of our word Tibet, the first syllable being the Tibetan word "teu" meaning "high" or "upper[1]."

A vocabulary that I took down at Chung-tien shows that the language of that district only differs in dialect from the Tibetan of Lhasa. The speech of Mi-li, on the contrary, though it contains some Tibetan words, is more nearly akin to the Lo-lo and to other Hsi-fan dialects.

[1] This is Desgodins' derivation, and Rockhill also agrees. Terrien de Lacouperie, however, derives "Tibet" from *Deba*, which means a ruler or king.

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/For a short discussion of Tibetan-Chinese relationships in Sikang and the effect of Communist rule upon them, see 1: Stanford University, AF16 Southwest China, category 116, pp. 85-86/